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Brazil SL1

000Footnotes - Chapter I

[1]See section by Charles Wagley in Ralph Linton (ed.), Most of The World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 226.

[2]Henry William Spiegel, The Brazilian Economy (Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1949), pp. 157-168.

[3]See section by Preston E. James in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1955), pp. 78-102.

[4]J. F. Normano, Brazil. A Study of Economic Types (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 75.

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[5]The município is the approximate Brazilian equivalent of the county in the United States. The município has two elements: (1) the sede (seat) which is the administrative center and is called a cidade regardless of its size; and (2) the rest of the município, which in the Recôncavo is almost invariably rural. The município usually is subdivided into distritos (districts), each with a seat which, regardless of size, is called a villa. Neither the cidade nor the villa is a corporate entity separate from the município or district; i.e., there is no urban organization per se. In the Recôncavo the cidades are either small cities, towns, or villages, while the villas are villages or hamlets. There is a tremendous range in the area of the various municípios, which may be extremely large where settlement is scattered and small where settlement is dense. In the Recôncavo the largest município has just over 2,000 sq. km., and the smallest has just over 100 sq. km. The município is the primary statistical unit used in this research, although district data have been used on the few occasions where they were available. For a list of the 21 municípios included in the Recôncavo as defined here, see Appendix A.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Cana de Açúcar no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 113 (March-April, 1953), pp. 171-173. Ariadne Soares Souto Mayor, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Fumo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112 (January-February, 1953), pp. 87-90. Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112 (January-February, 1953), pp. 84-86.

[7]Such as: Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livraria Editora, 1937). 267 pp. Luis Amaral, Historia Geral da Agricultura Brasileira (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939-40), 3 Vols. Charles Wagley (ed.), Race and Class in Rural Brasil (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1952), 160 pp.

[8]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Regional Series, Part XII-Bahia Vol. II (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950).

[9]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, Produção Agrícola: 1948 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950).

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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Município Boundaries—1948

Source: Conselho Nacional de Geografia, "Cartograma da Divisão Administrativa do Estado da Bahia."

MAP 3

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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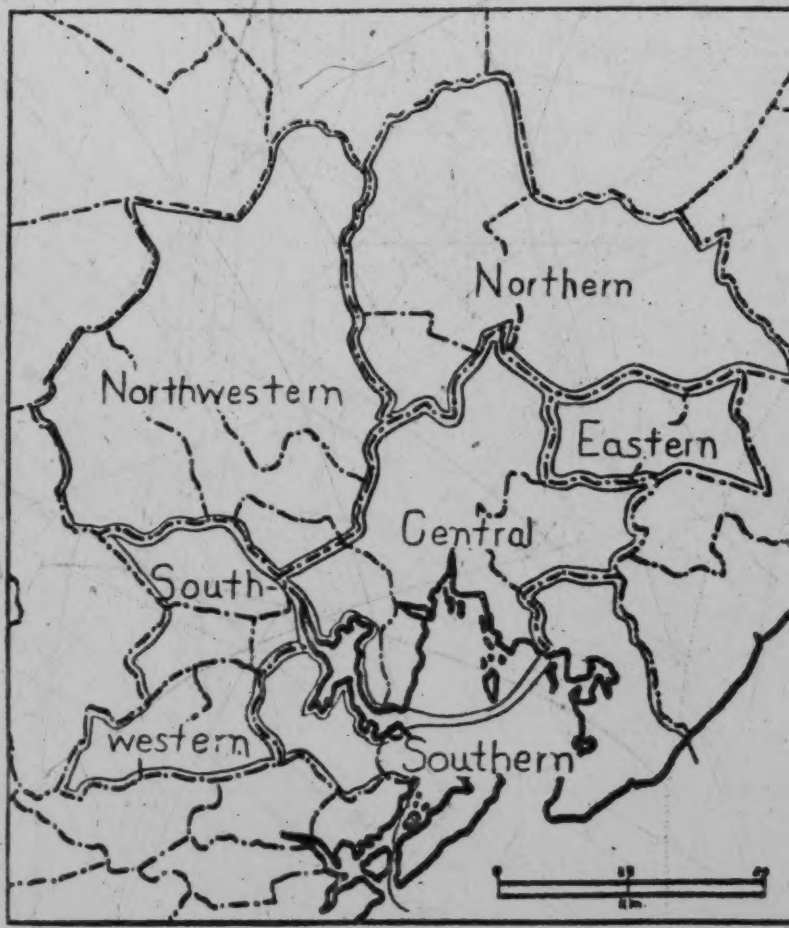

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Major Physical-Political Sub-Regions

MAP 16

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TABLE V

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF BAHIA AND THE RECÔNCAVO MUNICÍPIOS

	Per cent of Total Population - 1940		
	Whites	Blacks	Others
State of Bahia	28.74	20.13	51.11
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	10.47	37.59	51.94
São Francisco	14.02	29.96	56.01
São Sebastião	12.74	32.76	54.50
Cachoeira	11.71	38.51	49.78
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	15.58	37.18	47.23
Irará	12.50	34.07	53.43
Alagoinhas	22.88	24.41	52.69
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	12.16	28.31	59.53
São Gonçalo	10.63	48.19	41.18
Conceição da Feira	15.24	47.46	37.16
Santo Estêvão	17.06	31.38	50.95
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	10.48	40.48	49.03
Cruz das Almas	16.34	36.84	46.82
Conceição do Almeida	19.63	30.54	49.83
São Filipe	25.32	30.66	44.02
São Félix	15.78	33.33	50.87
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	23.78	22.58	53.64
Pojuca	22.69	21.90	55.41
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	37.40	23.05	39.53
Itaparica	14.60	26.99	58.38
Salvador	35.08	26.33	38.54

Note: The difference between the totals of these figures and 100 per cent consists of a very small percentage of Orientals.

Source: Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, 1940. Rio de Janeiro, 1949.

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From the above table (Table V) it can be seen that "whites" compose less than one-third of the total population of all Recôncavo municípios except Maragogipe and Salvador. Over one-fourth of the population is classified as "black" in all but the three municípios of Alagoinhas, Maragogipe, and Catu. Those persons classified as "others" mulatos and mestiços--account for 40 to 60 per cent of the population

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563 in all municípios but three--Maragogipe, Salvador, and Conceição da
162 Feira. The variations between the individual municípios reflect:
• 634 (1) concentrations of Negroes in the sugar cane area; and (2) concentrations of mixed-bloods, some of which are mestiços, on the inland borders of the Recôncavo and around the sugar zone. Salvador has a relatively larger white group--35 per cent--and a lower proportion of mixed-bloods--38 per cent.

563 With the possible exception of the prevailing white upper class,
565 no significant cultural segment of Recôncavo society can be defined in racial terms. The lower class is composed of Negroes, mixed bloods, and whites--it is an economic, not a racial unit. The upper class is predominantly white, but this primarily reflects the historical economic advantages of the white people and only incidentally the social advantages of a lighter skin. Given wealth, dark-skinned people enter the upper class with little--but nevertheless perceptible--difficulty on account of their racial background. Baianos say "a rich man is not a Negro." If a Negro or mulato is wealthy, many people think of him as being light-skinned. The cultural range between the upper and lower class in Recôncavo society is great. Neither the simpler cultural system of the lower classes nor the sophisticated upper class culture is associated with race per se.[9]

565 Class Differences. Recôncavo society is characterized by a strongly developed class structure and little vertical social mobility. In a recent anthropological survey of class in Brazil, "one's income, the kind of work one does, one's education, one's family (in varying degrees) and finally, one's physical [i.e. racial] appearance" were the main criteria used.[10] The study made by Hutchinson of a small community in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area in 1950-51 distingui four social strata.[11] Among the findings of the study were the followi

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TABLE VI

TOTAL, URBAN, AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	Total Population	Urban Population (Urban Centers with Manufacturing)	Rural Population (Total minus Urban Population)
Alagoinhas	52,007	21,283	30,724
Cachoeira	26,979	10,825	16,154
Catu	16,437		16,437
Conceição da Feira	10,532		10,532
Conceição do Almeida	25,407		25,407
Coração de Maria	20,256		20,256
Cruz das Almas	32,276	6,758	25,518
Feira do Santana	107,205	26,559	80,646
Irará	46,711		46,711
Itaparica	21,433		21,433
Maragogipe	36,868	9,744	27,124
Muritiba	31,605	7,452	24,153
Pojuca	6,911		6,911
Salvador	417,235	389,422	27,813
Santo Amaro	85,739	12,258	73,481
Santo Estêvão	31,665		31,665
São Félix	14,801	5,872	8,929
São Filipe	25,343		25,343
São Francisco	11,077		11,077
São Gonçalo	30,830	3,771	27,059
São Sebastião	21,135		21,135
Recôncavo	1,072,452	493,944	578,508

Source: Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano. XIV.

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TABLE VII

RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	% of Area of Recôncavo	% of Total Population of Recôncavo	% of Urban Population of Recôncavo	% of Rural Population of Recôncavo	% of Agricultural Labor Force of Recôncavo
Alagoinhas	12	5	4	5	6
Cachoeira	3	3	2	3	2
Catu	3	2		3	3
Conceição da Feira	1	1		2	2
Conceição do Almeida	2	2	1	4	5
Coração de Maria	2	2		4	4
Cruz das Almas	2	3		4	5
Feira de Santana	17	10	5	14	15
Irará	11	4		8	10
Itaparica	2	2		4	1
Maragogipe	3	3	2	5	4
Muritiba	3	3	2	4	4
Pojuca	3	1		1	1
Salvador	6	39	79	5	6
Santo Amaro	9	8	2	13	10
Santo Estêvão	6	3		5	6
São Felix	1	1	1	2	2
São Filipe	3	2		4	5
São Francisco	2	1		2	1
São Gonçalo	4	3	1	5	4
São Sebastião	4	2		4	3

Calculated from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 and Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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TABLE VIII

AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1940 AND 1950

Município	1940 Agricultural Labor Force	Per cent of Change 1940-1950*	1950 Agricultural Labor Force--Estimated
Alagoinhas	8,922	25	11,152
Cachoeira	4,367	- 3	4,238
Catu	5,395	- 5	5,125
Conceição da Feira	3,132	7	3,351
Conceição do Almeida	10,066	- 7	9,361
Coração de Maria	8,205	3	8,451
Cruz das Almas	8,763	6	9,289
Feira de Santana	26,140	16	30,322
Irará	19,920	- 2	19,522
Itaparica	1,379	10	1,517
Maragogipe	7,513	2	7,663
Muritiba	8,959	15	10,303
Pojuca	2,575	-31	1,777
Salvador	7,697	57**	12,075**
Santo Amaro	25,566	-23	19,686
Santo Estêvão	9,315	20	11,178
São Félix	4,086	6	4,331
São Filipe	10,327	- 2	10,120
São Francisco	2,373	-22	1,851
São Gonçalo	8,872	- 4	8,517
São Sebastião	6,395	4	6,651
Recôncavo	189,967		196,484

*Calculated change in rural population from 1940 to 1950. It has been assumed that the agricultural labor changed at the same rate as the rural population.

**Because of a change in the method of totaling the non-urban population of Salvador, it was not possible to derive the 1940-1950 rural population change in the usual manner. The 1950 figure is the mean of three estimates of increase derived from total population change 1940-1950, rural quadrant change 1940-1950, and per cent of total population in agriculture 1940 projected to 1950. These estimates were, in order, 11,097, 12,517, and 12,700. The rural quadrant is a statistical subdivision of the município which does not necessarily include all the rural areas.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia. Vol. I, and Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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241 464 and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaqueiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

161 162 241 464 634 The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations--only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean [128] figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are [127] likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

161 162 241 464 The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

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161 every section of which is more than 50 kilometers from Salvador, the
162
241 economic center of the Recôncavo, and also more than 50 kilometers from
464 the geometric center in Santo Amaro. If a line were drawn from the
161 cidade of Alagoinhas southwestward to the cidade of Nazaré, the
162 following municípios would fall entirely west of that line: Irará,
241
464 Coração de Maria, Feira de Santana, São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira,
634 and Santo Estêvão--all north of the Rio Paraguaçu--and Muritiba,
Cruz das Almas, São Félix, São Filipe, and Conceição do Almeida--all
south of the Rio Paraguaçu. These 11 of the 21 municípios of the
Recôncavo are all more than 50 kilometers from Salvador--all are much
farther in terms of land transport. In these eleven municípios live
125,000 of the 196,000 agricultural workers. In part, this
eccentricity with respect to Salvador is a result of the shape of
the land surface, with the city located at the end of a peninsula.
Only one of these 11 municípios, São Félix, lies on tide water, and
that at the extreme upper limit of navigation. The others are so
arranged that they cannot make optimum use of the central position
of the Bay, with its relatively cheap and direct route into the
capital.

161
162 This eccentrically located belt is arcuate in form. It is the
241 demographic representation of the transition zone from forest to
464 scrub forest, which is often also the transition from the Coastal
[132] Plain to the Tabular or Crystalline Uplands. The concentration of
[133] agricultural labor in this belt is obviously significant from many
points of view: social and political as well as economic.

Clustering is a characteristic pattern of Latin American population. The Recôncavo is the chief population cluster and the greatest single concentration of agricultural labor force within the state of

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Bahia. The broad cluster of the agricultural labor force is composed of several major zones of concentration and two minor agglomerations.

(1) The Southwestern Concentration: The most important of these concentrations, in terms of total number of agriculturalists, occupies the southwestern corner of the Recôncavo. This concentration is a major segment of the eccentric belt discussed above. It is located [131] in the Crystalline Uplands and the Intermediate Hills, along the drainage divide between the Rio Paraguaçu and the Rio Jaguaripe. This is an area of tobacco and manioc cultivation. There are some 35,000 agriculturalists in this concentration, which spreads over approximately 1,000 square kilometers in six municípios—São Félix, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Maragogipe. The cidade of Cruz das Almas lies very near its center.

TABLE IX

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—SOUTHWESTERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
São Felix	São Felix	2,568
	Outeiro Redohdo	1,724
Muritiba	Muritiba	3,044
	Cabeças	1,699
Cruz das Almas	Cruz das Almas	6,038
	Sapé	1,845
	Baixa do Palmeira	1,476
Conceição do Almeida	Conceição do Almeida	3,878
	Comércio	2,038
São Filipe	São Filipe	4,931
	Cararipe	2,471
Maragogipe	Guapira	1,169
	Nagé	788
	Coqueiras	1,072
Approximately 1,000 square kilometers		34,741

With about 12 per cent of the Recôncavo's total area, the southwestern concentration includes 18 per cent of its agricultural labor force. In its core there are over forty agriculturalists per [634] square kilometer (the município of São Félix as a whole has 42.05 per square kilometer), and this compact core includes São Félix, northern

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161 São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas,
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241 and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.
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[634] The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of [311] this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

161 (2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and
162 central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo
241 are less well defined and individually less important than the
464 southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern
131 Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santa Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

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161 162 241 464 [131] Because it does not correspond to census divisions, it is difficult to determine the area and population of this "u" zone. Apparently it has about 1,150 square kilometers and about 30,000 agricultural workers (Table X). Maximum densities within this zone are 30 to 40 per square kilometer.

TABLE X

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--NORTHERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Feira de Santana	Feira de Santana	9,840
	Tiquaruçu	1,725
Coração de Maria	Coração de Maria	4,176
	Itacava	4,332
Irará	Irará	4,130
	Bento Simões	1,675
	Pedrão	2,454
	Ouriçangas	2,683
Approximately 1,150 square kilometers		31,015

The "u-shaped" zone is linked with the southwestern cluster by a belt of moderate population density. This belt, running north to south along the caatinga-forest transition, is followed by the Feira de Santana-Cachoeira railroad.

161 162 241 464 131 (3) The Central Concentration: The central concentration of agricultural labor, in east-central Santo Amaro, western São Sebastião and São Francisco--the sugar cane zone, is not a part of the eccentric belt discussed above, but rather lies in the heart of the Recôncavo. There are about 6,000 agriculturalists in the 300 square kilometers of this area. The maximum density is about 25 per square kilometer. In distinction to the concentrations discussed above, the central cluster is in the lowlands--the humid Coastal Plain. (see Table XI).

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TABLE XI

161 AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

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Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agriculturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city. [245]

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000 (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere [131]

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else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settlements scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad. On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern. The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local relocation.

In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwest Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nin lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

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161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
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241 13 per cent.
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[634]

In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

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166 In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
[369] comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon--the
[241] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

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484 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
178 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
166 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 over the forest or the caatinga. In most areas it is the second growth, not the cultivated fields, which dominates the landscape.

241 361 443 634 The scale of the maps accompanying the following sections does not allow the indication of one of the significant patterns of cropland distribution in the Recôncavo—the concentration of cultivation around the cidades, the political centers. Each cidade is the economic focus of its município and is usually the primary market for the products of its cultivators. The poorly developed system of transportation in the [489] rural areas puts a premium on proximity to the market center. Thus in most of the municípios there is a decrease in cultivation away from the cidade, and where the municípios are large, such as on the northern and western perimeter of the Recôncavo, cropland becomes very widely scatte 241 before the political boundary is reached. This centralized distributio 361 443 491 of cropland has been complicated by the development of roads and truck traffic. Cultivators tend to cluster along the main highways with little regard for the absolute distance to the market of the cidade; accessibility as represented by time rather than distance seems to be the more important factor in choosing land for cultivation, providing that land is available. The pattern of concentration of cultivation along the highway is especially characteristic of the Upland sections of the Recôncavo.[1]

241 178 There are many exceptions to the modes of cropland distribution mentioned above. In the Recôncavo tradition and prestige often contravene direct economic self-interest. On a large scale the persistence of sugar cultivation is an example of the unwillingness to explore new sources of income. In other areas the traditional social advantages of land ownership may impede the subdivision of large properties into farms or rented plots, even where hired labor is not available to 000 cultivate the land efficiently. Livestock production, which offers

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer.

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together.

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide.

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

The railroad from Salvador to the interior passes about 15 kilometers east of Vila Recôncavo, and the planters situated near it experience the same difficulties of horseback travel when getting the train to go to the city.

There is no public transportation within the county. The train is so far from the town of Vila Recôncavo that it is not used by the town dwellers. Most of the population walks to wherever it is going, except to Salvador. Few people in town have horses or mules, for there is insufficient pasture nearby. As a result of the poor roads, the townspeople are dependent upon water navigation, a factor which helps to orient them to other towns by the water's edge and discourages communication between the town and the plantations of the interior of the county. At any season, there is little happening in the plantation area to attract the townspeople. On the other hand, people from the plantation come to the town, especially to see the doctor, for a special Mass, or to take the boat to Salvador. They rarely come for the movie, except those few subsistence gardeners (roçeiros) who live nearby, for travel is too difficult. During the dry season almost all transportation of goods is accomplished by an ox-drawn cart (carro de boi) with two large, solid wooden wheels drawn by eight oxen (junta de boi). The cart is driven by a man, and the oxen follow a small boy who walks in front of them.

The community of Vila Recôncavo comprises an area of some 80 square kilometers in the shape of a semicircle, bounded on one side by water and on the other by a high ridge. This area, which includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, forms a natural as well as a cultural unit. The remaining 100 square kilometers of the county fall into two subregions, one very small area which is oriented toward Centro and Cana-Uba (see map), and another which is strongly oriented toward Salvador. The three areas are drawn together by local administration: police, school system, tax collecting, and the collection of statistics--in other words, by the formal structure of county administration.

The 80 square kilometers of the community of Vila Recôncavo are composed almost entirely of thirteen large plantations, eleven of which are devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane. Of the other two, one plants cane on a small scale and rents most of its land to subsistence gardeners, while the second is a summer home, producing nothing. Of the eleven which plant sugar cane, six belong to the sugar factory which

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

as with pride and love for having made it appear from untamed wilds."[1] After his death the land passed to his son, who died shortly after and left the property to his sister, the Countess of Linhares and wife of Fernando Noronha. Noronha died not too long after, and his wife remarried, again becoming a widow and also losing her own children. At her death in 1618, what had not already been sold of the land was bequeathed to various religious organizations.[2]

It was reported in 1587 that there were fourteen plantations in the area that later became the county of Vila Recôncavo.[3] In 1591 the Franciscans went through the Recôncavo, looking for a place to build a convent. They established a "small hospice" in 1618 on what is now plantation "N" (see map of community). This hospice lasted only two years, for in 1620 the friars returned to Salvador.[4] In 1624 the Franciscans returned to the town, selected a spot of high ground on the shoreline overlooking the Bay of All Saints, and started to construct a chapel and convent. At this time Gaspar dos Reis Pinto was in possession of plantation "N," which included the area chosen by the Franciscans for their construction. In 1633 Gaspar gave 143 square braças (1 braça=6 ft.) to the religious order.[5] With the founding of the convent, the town of Vila Recôncavo received a major impulse, becoming a nucleus for further development.

The seventeenth century saw a period of great expansion in the Recôncavo--the erection of many plantations and the increase of population, mainly due to the importation of great numbers of African slaves. During this period the first two formal administrative divisions of the Recôncavo were organized. In Vila Recôncavo, a military district created in 1668 was the first formal unit. Troubles with the Dutch in the early part of the century and continuing invasions and sackings by pirates led to the necessity of fortifying appropriate places in the Recôncavo, such as the mouths of rivers emp-

1. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), p. 33.
2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Noticias do Brasil (São Paulo, n. d.), I, Book I, 282.
4. de Araujo Pinho, Testamento de Mem de Sá, p. 54.
5. Ibid.

tying into the Bay, to protect the plantations situated on river banks, a location in all other respects ideal for sugar mills. Vila Recôncavo was chosen as the site for a battery in 1668 and was given guns and men. It was also necessary to maintain a small fleet of armed ships to help repel pirates. One side of the hill on which the convent is situated, which overlooks the Bay and lies directly at the mouth of the river coming from Centro, is still called the Battery in remembrance of the days when it was part of the old fortifications.

The second formal administrative unit to be formed was that of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Until 1693 Salvador was the only judicial and legislative center in Bahia. Because of development in the Recôncavo it was thought necessary at this time to create three vilas in the area, this being the term then applied to the administrative centers of counties. Thus in February of 1698 Vila Recôncavo became one of the first organized counties (municipios) in the Recôncavo, a transformation which made it the center of much activity as it was now the seat of local rural government, tax collecting, and justice. Since its creation the county of Vila Recôncavo has shrunk in size as new counties have been established in the Recôncavo. Vila Recôncavo lost part of its land, until in 1945 it retained only 189 square kilometers, less than half its original area.

Prior to either military or civil divisions, there had already existed religious divisions, or parishes. The parish of São Gonçalo included the town of Vila Recôncavo and much of the hinterland. The mother church (matriz) of the parish was constructed in the town in 1678. It was reconstructed in 1887 by the third Baron of Vila Recôncavo, at which time it had fallen into such disrepair that the reconstruction was a complete renovation. This was done in great simplicity, blotting out most of the former ornateness. Today it is again in need of repair as the plaster is falling off, exposing the still solid stone and cement construction of three-foot-thick walls. Most of the wood in the altars, floors, and inner partitions is rotting away. The outside has turned black from the action of the salt air on the whitewash. For more than forty years the parish has been unable to support a priest, and the duties of caring for the spiritual needs of the parishioners has fallen upon the Franciscans. The church is opened now only for Mass on Sundays, and for occasional missions and weddings throughout the year.

In 1718 the chapel of the Franciscan convent was replaced

2t Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Centro, situated on the banks of a navigable river which empties into the Bay in front of the town of Vila Recôncavo, was in a good position to serve the entire back region of the Recôncavo. As a county it now comprises 1,180 square kilometers. As a port, Centro served two purposes in the early eighteenth century. A great deal of produce and many persons passed through it, including the families of sugar-cane growers from other regions of the Recôncavo; and it also served as a "gateway to the West" at a time when western Bahia and Minas Gerais were being opened and the gold and diamond rushes were in progress. Centro was the end of navigable waters and the beginning of one of the overland routes leading to the uplands of the sertão and the mining areas of the west. As Centro grew, Vila Recôncavo stagnated. In 1833 Centro was made judicial center (cabeça de comarca) of the district and Vila Recôncavo became part of this judicial district, thereby losing its prominence as the center of jurisdiction for the interior zone of the Recôncavo. Commercially, Vila Recôncavo was soon overshadowed by Centro. In 1802, Vilhena wrote:

> . . . In Centro there is a great deal of commerce, because of the amount of sugar, tobacco, and the number of distilleries and of Mineiros [miners and people from the state of Minas Gerais] who arrive there. Continuing along the bank of the river one finds Vila Recôncavo, which in spite of enough sugar passing through it, always had a weak commerce, and the town is known among all the others as the town of the least traffic.[8]

He says later:

> In spite of its antiquity, Vila Recôncavo has few inhabitants, and most of them poor, although throughout the termo there are many good families of noble people, rich through the products of their large engenhos, from which they take much and excellent sugar, the only commerce of that town; in it also there is fishing for a little sardinelike fish called xangó and a large quantity of good and large shrimp, which is the main

8. Ibid., Letter I, p. 32 (author's translation).

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area.

The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4, 269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucasoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucasoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled.' There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucasoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks.[6]

The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucasoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucasoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home.

In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages